

Message Text

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 15503 01 OF 03 211323Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 CAIRO 15503

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: PEPR EG
SUBJECT: SADAT MEETING WITH ANDREW MILLER

SUMMARY. SADAT TELLS VIRGINIA SENATORIAL CANDIDATE MILLER THAT HE HAD FOUND ISRAELI ANSWERS TO U.S. QUESTIONS AS ANTICIPATED; ISRAELIS REFUSE TO BE PRECISE OR MAKE COMMITMENTS. NEVERTHELESS, HE REMAINS OPTIMISTIC. HIS PROPOSAL FOR TURNOVER OF WEST BANK AND GAZA TO JORDAN AND EGYPT HAD BEEN MADE TO "FACILITATE JOB OF PRESIDENT CARTER" AND BECAUSE HE, SADAT, "TRYING TO ANSWER EVERY ARGUMENT BEGIN MAKES." ALTHOUGH SADAT DID NOT WANT IT KNOWN NOW, HE WOULD AGREE TO COMPLETE DEMILITARIZATION OF WEST BANK AND GAZA. IF ISRAELIS WERE TO LEARN THIS, THEY WOULD TAKE IT AND BARGAIN FOR MORE. TO ASSURE ISRAELI SECURITY, HE REITERATED HIS SIX POINTS, STRESSING THAT NUMBER 6 ("OPEN BORDERS, NORMAL RELATIONS AND GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS") IS BEST POSSIBLE GUARANTEE FOR ISRAEL. ASKED ABOUT U.S. ROLE, SADAT SAID IT SHOULD BE AS "FULL PARTNER" IN NEGOTIATIONS AND PUTTING FORWARD AMERICAN PROPOSALS AS "HENRY" HAD DONE. "AS LONG AS ISRAELIS BELIEVE THEY HAVE BACKING OF U.S. THEY WILL NOT PAY ATTENTION TO UN OR ANYONE ELSE." SADAT WILL BACK WHATEVER PRESIDENT CARTER PROPOSES. WHENEVER ISRAEL PUTS FORWARD NEW ELEMENTS EGYPT IS READY TO RENEW DIRECT
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NEGOTIATIONS (WITH U.S. AS A WITNESS). U.S. SHOULD TAKE TOUGH STAND AGAINST SOVIET-CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA. .
END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENT SADAT MET WITH VIRGINIA DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CANDIDATE ANDREW MILLER FOR FORTY MINUTES JUNE 20 IMMEDIATELY AFTER GIVING TWO-HOUR ADDRESS TO

ASU CENTRAL COMMITTEE. VP MUBARAK, MILLER AIDE TAZEWEILL AND POLCOUNS ALSO PRESENT. SADAT BEGAN BY COMMENTING ON HIS SPEECH, SAYING THAT IT HAD BEEN NECESSARY BECAUSE OF EFFORTS OF SOME TO SABOTAGE DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT. EGYPT HAS DEMOCRACY AND MULTIPARTY SYSTEM AND WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE. PROBLEM IS ONE OF CONDUCT AND DORALITY BY, AMONG OTHERS, "AGENTS OF MOSCOW". THE EGYPTIAN STATE IS 7000 YEARS OLD AND DESERVES A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, BUT HE WILL NOT ACCEPT ABUSES OF DEMOCRACY.

2. MR. MILLER EXPLAINED FACT-FINDING NATURE OF HIS TRIP TO EGYPT AND ISRAEL. HE ASKED WHAT SADAT SAW AS NEXT STEP IN PEACE PROCESS? SADAT SAID HE HAD BEEN WAITING FOR ISRAELI ANSWERS TO U.S. QUESTIONS ON DISPOSITION OF WEST BANK AND GAZA BECAUSE THIS IS "CRUX OF THE PROBLEM", NOT SINAI. HE REFERRED TO LAST MEETING WITH WEIZMAN AND LATTER'S OFFER OF SEPARATE AGREEMENT. (PRESIDENT COMMENTED PARENTHETICALLY ON WEIZMAN'S RECENT REMARK ABOUT PREPARING ARMY FOR NEXT WAR BECAUSE THINGS HOPELESS WITH BEGIN, IMPLYING HE DID NOT TAKE REMARK SERIOUSLY SINCE HE KNOWS WEIZMAN WELL.) HE HAD TOLD WEIZMAN IN RESPONSE TO SEPARATE PEACE OFFER THAT, EVEN IF ISRAEL SIGNED PEACE TREATIES WITH EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA, THERE WOULD BE ANOTHER WAR IN FIVE OR TEN YEARS IF PALESTINIAN PROBLEM NOT RESOLVED. SADAT SAID HE HAD READ ISRAELI ANSWERS AND FOUND THEM AS ANTICIPATED. ISRAELIS REFUSED

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TO BE PRECISE OR TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ANYTHING. THEY ALWAYS TAKE ANY CONCESSIONS OFFERED AND THEN WANT MORE. NEVERTHELESS, AS HE HAD TOLD HIS PEOPLE, HE REMAINS "OPTIMISTIC".

3. MILLER ASKED WHAT WAS SADAT'S PURPOSE IN MAKING PROPOSAL FOR TURNING OVER WEST BANK AND GAZA TO JORDAN AND EGYPT? PRESIDENT SAID FIRST PURPOSE HAD BEEN TO "FACILITATE THE JOB OF PRESIDENT CARTER". MAJOR OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS HAS ALWAYS BEEN ISRAELI FEAR OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINIANS BECAUSE IT WOULD MEAN PALESTINIAN STATE. SECOND REASON WAS THAT HE, SADAT, "TRYING TO ANSWER EVERY ARGUMENT BEGIN MAKES". ISRAELIS HAVE SAID SINCE LAST NOVEMBER THAT THEY DO NOT FEAR KING HUSSEIN. HIS PROPOSAL WOULD RETURN AREA TO SITUATION OF 1967 AND JORDAN, EGYPT AND ISRAEL WOULD THEN SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS SECURITY AND PEACE. (SADAT SAID HE WOULD AGREE, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD NOT WANT IT KNOWN AT THIS TIME, THAT WEST BANK AND GAZA COULD BE COMPLETELY DEMILITARIZED.) SADAT SAID VP MUBARAK HAD DISCUSSED PROPOSAL WITH HUSSEIN AND INFORMED HIM THAT EGYPT HAS NO CLAIMS OF ANY KIND ON GAZA AND IF IT WERE TO GO WITH WEST BANK AND

BE LINKED TO JORDAN, EGYPT WOULD AGREE. MUBARAK SAID HUSSEIN HAD BEEN "VERY PLEASED" WITH THIS EGYPTIAN POSITION. SADAT ADDED THAT THERE COULD BE CORRIDOR BETWEEN WEST BANK AND GAZA AND JORDAN COULD ALSO HAVE PORT ON MEDITERRANEAN. SADAT SAID HE HOPED JORDANIAN-EGYPTIAN CONTROL OVER WB/GAZA WOULD NOT LAST MORE THAN ONE YEAR BEFORE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WORKED OUT; FIVE YEARS WAS MAXIMUM. HIS MAIN PURPOSE IS TO END ISRAELI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 CAIRO 15503

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OCCUPATION AND HE WILL GUARANTEE PEACE AND SECURITY FOR ISRAEL.

4. SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. MILLER ASKED WHO AND HOW SECURITY WOULD BE GUARANTEED FOR ISRAEL? SADAT SAID HE HAD COVERED THIS IN DETAIL WITH HIS SIX-POINT PROPOSAL WHICH HE REITERATED AS (A) DMZ'S ON BORDERS WITH UN FORCES; (B) EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS ON BOTH SIDES UNDER UN AUSPICES (ALTHOUGH HE DOES NOT WANT TO OFFICIALLY SAY SO NOW, HE WANTS U.S. TO MAN THEM SINCE HE WANTS U.S. AS "WITNESS"); (C) LIMITED ARMAMENTS ZONE; (D) JOINT COMMITTEE TO MEET IN AL ARISH AND BEERSHIBA; (E) FREE TRANSIT THROUGH GULF OF AQABA (ALBEIT BAB AL MANDEB CLOSURE IN 1973 RENDERED THIS IRRELEVANT); AND (F) "MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL OPEN BORDERS, NORMAL RELATIONS AND GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS IN ALL ITS ASPECTS." THIS IS "BEST POSSIBLE GUARANTEE" FOR ISRAEL TOGETHER WITH MUTUAL DEFENSE PACT WITH U.S., WHICH IT CAN ALSO HAVE.

5. MILLER ASKED IF SADAT WOULD AGREE TO DEMILITARIZE ALL OF GAZA AND WEST BANK? SADAT SAID HE WOULD AGREE 100 PERCENT TO DO THIS, BUT DID NOT WISH IT TO BE

PUBLISHED OR KNOWN TO ISRAELIS AT THIS TIME. IF ISRAELIS WERE TO LEARN IT THEY WOULD TAKE IT AND THEN BARGAIN FOR MORE. EVEN IF THERE SHOULD BE A PALESTINIAN
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STATE, SADAT WOULD AGREE IT BE DEMILITARIZED. (MUBARAK INTERJECTED THAT HE HAD NOT SPECIFICALLY DISCUSSED DEMILITARIZATION OF WEST BANK WITH HUSSEIN.)

6. U.S. ROLE. IN LIGHT ISRAELI RESPONSE TO U.S. QUESTIONS, MILLER ASKED, WHAT SHOULD U.S. DO NOW? SADAT . SAID HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT CARTER IN APRIL AT CAMP DAVID AND REPEATED IT SINCE THAT U.S. SHOULD BE A "FULL PARTNER" IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS MEANT IT SHOULD ACT IN THE WAY THAT "HENRY" HAD DURING SINAI I NEGOTIATIONS. THERE HAD BEEN VERY TENSE SITUATION WITH TROOPS STILL IN PLACE AND A DEADLOCK REACHED. HENRY HAD INFORMED SADAT AND ASKED WHAT WAS TO BE DONE. SADAT HAD SUGGESTED AN AMERICAN COMPROMISE PROPOSAL BECAUSE HE KNEW ISRAEL COULD NOT REFUSE TO CARRY IT OUT FOR IT WAS COMPLETELY DEPENDENT UPON U.S. FOR REBUILDING OF ITS ARMY. "YOU KNOW HENRY, HE HAS GUTS," AND HE CAME FORWARD WITH PROPOSAL THAT ENABLED AGREEMENT TO BE REACHED. IT IS NOW QUITE OBVIOUS THAT "EGYPT IS READY FOR PEACE, NORMALITY AND EVERYTHING." BEGIN, HOWEVER, IS ONE OF OLD GUARD AND "HE CAN'T CHANGE NOW. AS LONG AS ISRAELIS BELIEVE THEY HAVE US BACKING THEY WILL PAY NO ATTENTION TO THE UN OR ANYONE ELSE." MILLER ASKED IF NOW WAS TIME FOR AMERICA TO MAKE NEW PROPOSAL? SADAT SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO BE QUOTED, BUT "YES." WHATEVER CARTER PLAN IS "I AM READY TO DISCUSS IT AND I WILL BACK IT." WHENEVER ISRAEL PUTS FORWARD NEW ELEMENTS EGYPT IS READY TO REVIEW DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THE PRESIDENT SAID "I ALWAYS WANT YOU AS A WITNESS."

7. MILLER SAID PRESIDENT SADAT'S TRIP TO JERUSALEM HAD CAPTURED IMAGINATION OF AMERICAN PEOPLE AND MADE SUCH ACTIONS AS THE PLANE SALE POSSIBLE. SADAT FULLY AGREED
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AND SAID THAT IN PAST ARABS HAD BEEN LUCKY TO HAVE FIVE SENATORS SUPPORTING THEM. NOW THEY HAD HAD FIFTY-FOUR. HE SINGLED OUT SENATOR RIBICOFF FOR SPECIAL PRAISE AND SAID HE IS A "VERY TRUE MAN WHO HAS GUTS." SADAT SAID HIS INITIATIVE IS STILL ALIVE AND IT IS BRINGING NEW AND FAVORABLE DIMENSIONS TO THE PEACE PROCESS SUCH

AS THE ARMS SALE. "SOME ARABS DO NOT UNDERSTAND THIS
OR DO NOT WANT TO, BUT THESE NEW DIMENSIONS WILL
EVENTUALLY BRING PEACE TO THE AREA."

8. ETHIOPIA. MR. MILLER ASKED HOW SADAT VIEWED
SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA AND WHAT U.S. ROLE SHOULD BE?
SADAT SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED HORN WITH PRESIDENT CARTER
AND CONGRESS IN APRIL 1977 AND AGAIN IN FEBRUARY 1978.
HE SAID U.S. THESE DAYS TAKING AN EXTREME STANCE AS
PART OF VIETNAM COMPLEX. EITHER GREAT AMOUNTS OF MEN
AND MATERIEL ARE SENT OR IT STAYS OUT ALL TOGETHER WITH
ARMS FOLDED. WHAT IS HAPPENING IN ETHIOPIA IS NATURAL
FOLLOW ON TO ANGOLA, AND SUDAN AND EGYPT WILL BE NEXT. .
A "VERY CRUCIAL" EVENT WAS WHEN SOVIETS SENT SOLDIERS
TO ETHIOPIA, SOMETHING THEY HAD NEVER BEFORE DONE OUT-
SIDE OF EASTERN EUROPE. THIS HAS CREATED "VERY
DANGEROUS SITUATION". THERE IS NOW A BLOC OF STATES
COMPRISING EGYPT, MOROCCO, IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA AND
THE SOVIETS ARE CREATING A BELT OF PDRY, LIBYA, IRAQ
AND ALGERIA AND A SECOND BELT IN AFRICA OF ANGOLA,
TANZANIA AND OTHERS. EGYPT CANNOT ALLOW THESE TWO BELTS
TO TIGHTEN, BUT MUST CHECK THEM. NO ONE IS ASKING U.S.
TO SEND TROOPS AND IF ASKED IT SHOULD NOT SEND THEM.
AFRICANS MUST FIGHT THEIR OWN BATTLES, BUT U.S. SHOULD
NOT APPLY ARMS EMBARGO AS USSR TO EGYPT. SADAT
REFERRED TO EARLIER SIAD REQUEST THAT EGYPT TAKE OVER
AND DEFEND BERBERA. HE WOULD HAVE DONE SO IF ONLY
ENEMY WERE ETHIOPIA BUT HE CANNOT TAKE ON USSR. HE
AND SAUDIS HAD PUT PRESSURE ON SIAD TO EXPELL SOVIETS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 CAIRO 15503

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C O R R E C T E D COPY--ADD CAPTION EXDIS

IS THE NEXT TARGET) AND GET RID OF SOVIETS AND CUBANS,
BUT AFRICANS MUST HAVE THE POWER TO HIT THEM, NOT BY
INVADING OGADEN BUT BY MAKING SOMALIA-DJIBOUTI-SUDAN
STRONG ENOUGH SO THAT WHENEVER ETHIOPIANS-CUBANS-SOVIETS
HIT OUT, "WE CAN STRIKE BACK." IN ERITREA THERE IS
NOW A CONFLICT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOVIETS AND CUBANS.
SADAT HAD NOT HEARD OFFICIALLY, BUT HE UNDERSTOOD CARTER
HAD TOLD SOVIETS NOT TO GO IN. SHOULD U.S. TAKE DECI-
SIVE ACTION SOVIETS WILL LEAVE. ONLY THING SOVIETS AND
CUBANS UNDERSTAND IS POWER.

9. MR. MILLER HAS APPROVED THIS MESSAGE AND HAS TAKEN
A COPY WITH HIM. EILTS

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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PEPR, EG, XF, (SADAT, ANWAR), (MILLER, ANDREW)
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